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VṚṢĀ-KAPI, THE APE-MAN OF THE ṚGVEDA*

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Introductory

There is only one hymn (X. 86) in the Ṛgveda which gives us the story of 'Vṛṣā-Kapi', the name not being mentioned anywhere else, in the Ṛgveda. The writer proposes to explain, in this Paper, his own view of the precise import of each verse (and its speaker) in this hymn—a matter on which there is wide disagreement among scholars, ancient and modern. Before we proceed to identify the 'Ape-man', (*not an easy task*), certain general but pertinent observations are necessary, by way of introduction to the solution of this riddle.

That the gods of the Ṛgveda are *nearly all gods of light* is easily demonstrable from the evidence of the Ṛgveda[1]. "*We want light and more light and not the hateful darkness of the night*" was the cry that went round, among the Ṛgvedic Āryans. It is impossible to explain this, except on the supposition that the duration of the night and darkness was *inordinately long* in the original home. This could be reminiscent of conditions in the polar and circum-polar regions, as a result of which the gods of the Ṛgveda

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1. The writer has set forth this proposition in a number of his Papers and Monographs on several deities of the Ṛgveda, such as Varuṇa, Indra, Rudra, Aditi and each member of the entire Āditya group of gods (numbering ten).

have polar attributes as contended by Tilak in his *Arctic Home in the Vedas*. In his Paper read at the Vedic Section of the last session of the All-India Oriental Conference,* the writer has pointed out that *the latest findings of the sciences, like Geology, Archaeology and Meteorology have established that an ancient civilization had flourished for thousands of years on the temperate shores of the once ice free and open Arctic Ocean, before it froze over 11,000 years ago,* ending the Ice-age in America.

The bearing of this discovery on the subject of the present Paper is the following:

Leaving aside the rather exceptional case of an observer stationed exactly at the terrestrial north pole, where the year consists of only one long day and one long night of six months each, the year *for the residents of the circum-polar regions*, is made up of three parts: (*i*) *One long continuous night*: occurring at the time of the Winter Solstice and lasting for a period greater than twenty-four hours and less than six months, according to the latitude of the place; (*ii*) *One long continuous day* (to match) occurring at the time of the Summer Solstice; and (*iii*) a succession of *ordinary days and nights* during the rest of the year, (a day and night together never exceeding twenty-four hours). Since, under these conditions, a large number of stars are circumpolar and *are above the horizon during the entire period of their revolution and hence always visible during the night*, is it any wonder that the virgin imagination of the ancient poets and priests should, *during the long nights*, weave around the star-groups or constellations, figures of animals, like the horse, the bull, the antelope (*mṛga*), *the ape*, the dog, the ram, the goat, the serpent, the tortoise and the fish, figures of objects like a river, a ship, a bow and arrow and also figures of hunters and horse-men and compose legends and stories connected with these figures? Is it not correct, therefore, to affirm that these mythological creations of animals represent traces surviving from a more primitive age when the line dividing men from animals, was not definitely drawn?

Let us now take up the legend in our hymn of the *mṛga* (*Vṛṣā-Kapi*) called the 'ape', whose ear the dog bites (X. 86. 3-5).

* Q J M S. Volume LI, pp 47—54.

That part of the heavens which contains the constellation of *Mṛgaśiras* is the most attractive and interesting in the celestial sphere. It contains no less than five stars of the first magnitude including *Sirius* (the 'dog') with the Milky Way passing through them. The author of the *Mahimna Stotra* in describing the heavenly form of Rudra, (as represented in the sky) says that the stream of waters on his head (the Ganges) has the beauty of its appearance, enhanced by a number of stars and adds *that the whole story of Rudra piercing Prajāpati with an arrow is illustrated in the sky*. This is evidently a reference to the Milky Way passing over the head of the star of Rudra. What wonder then, that a number of legends should exist in almost all the branches of the Āryan race about the portion of the heavens containing the constellation of *Mṛgaśiras*? That the constellation of Orion was known and figured out before the Greeks, the Iranians and the Indians separated from their *common home* is borne out by an examination of the well-preserved legends and traditions of these three branches of Āryans, which can be explained only on the hypothesis, *that the Vernal Equinox was then near the asterism of Mṛgaśiras*.

This introduction should set in the correct prospective, the following proposed identification of characters in the scene represented by the hymn of *Vṛṣā–Kapi* (X. 86). The writer, while acknowledging the debt he owes to earlier authorites (especially, Tilak) must make it clear that his own version of the hymn (as explained below) differs on the one hand from that of Geldner and other Western scholars and on the other also from that of Tilak (in his 'Orion') which passes over some verses of the hymn (*e.g.* the sixteenth, seventeenth and the twenty-third) as either too obscure or as not relevant to his purpose.

ṚGVEDA: X. 86 EXPLAINED

(V. 1) "The Soma pressings in honour of Indra have been suspended, he, not being considered a god (any longer). This is because *Vṛṣā-Kapi*, his friend (has left him and) is enjoying himself with the substantial possessions or offerings of the *arì* (in the

far-off or distant regions)." Indra is the speaker, because VK[2] is referred to as 'My friend'. This would be impossible, if Indrāṇī were the speaker. Her unhappy relations with VK constitute the main theme of the hymn. Nor can the difficulty be removed by making the words *mátsakhā* (referring to Indra), a part of the refrain, as Tilak has done. Inviolate is the unity of the refrain and it cannot be added to, for purposes of *just this verse.* It would be highly artificial to suppose that the words are an ironical thrust by Indrāṇī, as Geldner suggests. II. 12. 4 & 5 show that *aryáḥ puṣṭāni* or *puṣṭīḥ* are claimed by Indra as his own special preserve and therefore Indra goes after VK (V. 2). The word *arì* (of which *aryáḥ* is the genitive) may have either a good sense like 'active, devout or Ārya (olden)' or a bad one, such as 'non-giving, a churl, a foe, a Dāsa.' The bad sense is to be preferred here, because VK has left Indra for the land of darkness or of Dāsas and is there making himself happy with the offerings of the *arì* or (if the good sense of *arì* is taken then) he is enjoying the *svadhā* offerings, just as Yama and Varuṇa do in the nether world (X. 14. 7). The writer believes that Tilak is perfectly right in his explanation of the suspension of the sacrifices. The mention of a *Mṛga* (=VK) with the head cut off and a dog (Canis) set on him (VV. 3 to 5) all show that the whole story is the story of *Mṛga-śiras* (the head of the *Mṛga*) as confirmed also by Comparative Mythology and Greek Astronomy. *Vṛṣā–Kapi represents the (setting) Sun in Orion.* The Dog is said to commence the new year, in RV. I. 161. 13 and since Canis and Orion are close to each other, Orion may be said to have commenced the year. The *Devayāna*, therefore, extended in those days, from the heliacal to the acronycal rising of Orion. When Orion rose with the sun, it was the Vernal Equinox, the beginning of *Devayāna* and when it rose at the beginning of the night, six months later, it was the Autumnal Equinox, the end of *Devayāna*. The acronycal rising of Orion was a signal (as it were) to stop all sacrifices, as oblations may be said to be spoilt by the appearance of the constellation at the

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2. Hereafter VK will stand for *Vṛṣā–Kapi*, throughout this paper.

beginning of the night. In other words, Indra not being paid the homage of the Soma offerings now, may be said to have lost his status as a god (*Pāda* 2). The refrain of the hymn may be explained thus:

Under the Arctic sky, the sun on rising goes on circling around the observer, rising higher and higher at each completed round of the horizon in a day of twenty-four hours. The highest or mid-day point is reached by the sun at the Summer Solstice and in this *highest* position, he is said to be presided over by Indra, deserving the *Mādhyandina savana*, in a very special and marked manner. No wonder that the refrain describes Indra (the presiding deity of the mid-day sun) as the upper-most (or northernmost) part of the Universe, being higher than the sun in any other position, throughout the year.

(V. 2) Indrāṇī speaks now:

"Why are you, O Indra, going over to the region beyond (*parā*) along and over the path, VK has gone (in pursuit of VK)? You are not likely to get a Soma drink elsewhere, either, (if you are following VK with that aim)". Geldner's rendering of *áti vyáthiḥ* as 'overlooking the lapse of VK' is impossible, because Indra has yet to know of the lapse of VK and the offence he has given to Indrāṇī and he is still friendly to him. Though the identification of Indrāṇī is not necessary for an understanding of the story recorded in the hymn, the writer may as well state here his view, once for all. The writer believes that the *Bṛhad-Devatā* has hit the mark, when it says (II. 9-10) "Vṛṣākapāyī, Sūryā and Uṣas are all *wives of Sūrya.* Uṣas is the one that appears before sun-rise, Sūrya the one, who stands by (the mid-day sun, the presiding deity of which, according to the writer, is Indra) at mid-day; and *Vṛṣākapāyī* is the *gloaming* at sun-set time." Indrāṇī is, therefore, Sūryā.

(V.3) Indra asks her:

"What has the golden Mṛga done to you, that you should be so angry with him? Or is it the substantial possession of the *arì* (which VK is making free with) that excites your envy?"

VK is here called the *Mṛga*, because at the acronycal rising of the constellation of *Mṛgaśiras*, this *Mṛga*, in close proximity to the gloaming and the sun that has just set below it, constitute together one complex and continuous anthropomorphic entity.

(V.4) Indrāṇī replies:

"This VK whom you have taken under your protecting wing (well, what shall I say of him?)—him may the dog, the boar-chaser, bite in the ear." Indrāṇī has lost her temper so far that before explaining the grounds of her displeasure with VK she just talks testily of what she would like to do to him. Now, for the explanation of the incident, taking the three stars in the belt of Orion as the top of the head, the dog is close by the right ear of the *Mṛga* and may be said to bite it. The dog is none other than Canis Major following the constellation of Orion or "the antelope's head" representing Vṛtra.

(V.5) Indrāṇī continues:

"The ape (*i.e.* VK) has spoilt the well-made and well-buttered favourite (dishes *i.e.*) offerings of mine. I shall (assuredly) break his head and do not propose to be very nice to this evil-doer." This refers to the acronycal rising of Orion (coinciding with the darkness of the night at the Autumnal Equinox) that leads to the suspension of all sacrifices and spoiling of all the offerings and oblations that were intended for Indrāṇī (and the gods).

(V.6) The propriety of this apparently inelegant (nay, in a sense indecent) self-praise on the part of Indrāṇī is *not satisfactorily explained by any earlier authority*. The following is the proper explanation, in the opinion of the writer:

Indrāṇī has developed a dislike bordering on resentment towards VK but Indra looks upon him as his friend. What is worse is that Indra, even when told about his misdemeanour (V.5^{ab}) and about her strong resentment at it (VV. 4^{cd} and 5^{cd}) is unresponsive. Indrāṇī, therefore, suspects that she is losing her grip over Indra and therefore turns on the full force of her *personal* charms on him, by saying "There is no lovelier woman than I (is there?)." She explains the purely physical aspect of

her charms and her high *fourfold* qualifications in (sexual) copulation (as explained in the first four *Pādas*) to win over Indra and make him a worthier champion and avenger of insults heaped on her.

(V.7) It is really strange that the *Anukramaṇī*, Sāyaṇa (following it) and Geldner should put this verse in the mouth of *Vṛṣā–Kapi* and thus make the words vulgar as they are, part of an immoral overture made by VK to Indrāṇī shocking all sense of decency and dignity. And all because (as Tilak has correctly surmised) of the *supposed* inappropriateness of the word *amba* ('mother'), if taken as addressed to Indrāṇī by Indra. But *amba* can mean 'O, dear one' also. So we translate: (Indra speaks): "O dear one, easy to obtain (as thou art, *for me*) it *will be*, as (you say). Every limb of mine (thighs, head and genitals) eagerly throbs and thrills (as it were) to meet you (in close embrace). (But),"

(V.8) Continues Indra:

"O thou of graceful arms, beautiful fingers, long tresses and broad hips! Why dost thou, O consort of (myself) the Brave One, attack our VK?"

(V.9) "This turbulent One" (replies Indrāṇī) "takes me to be without a hero (*i.e.* protecting husband). And in truth, I am the wife of Indra and (thus) protected by a hero and have the Maruts as my friends."

(V.10) This formidable accusation and its implied threat make VK and his consort change their tune. VK first tries to assuage Indrāṇī with the words "The consort of Indra (and thus) with a hero by her side (always), the regulator of Ṛta is celebrated as the lady, who, from of old, has graced by her presence public (or the grand) sacrifices and festive gatherings." He thus refutes the charge that he ever slandered Indrāṇī as one without a *vīra* (as her husband).

(V. 11) *Vṛṣākapāyī* who, as the gloaming of the setting sun (*Vṛṣā–Kapi*) may be looked upon either as the wife or the mother or as the sister of the setting sun *exactly as Uṣas and Yamī have*

been credited with these roles, in relation to the sun whom they precede or follow, speaks now, to pacify Indrāṇī :

"I have heard of Indrāṇī as the (most) auspicious one, among these (auspicious) ladies, because at no time hereafter will her husband die of old age."

(V. 12) Indra adds his own voice to these appeals to Indrāṇī to calm down, by saying :

"I was never happy, O Indrāṇī, without my friend *Vṛṣā-Kapi* whose 'water-oblation' (the *uda-manth* of V. 15) goes to the gods as their favourite oblation."

(V. 13) Tilak who has given such excellent pointers to the solution of many problems of this hymn does not appear to be right when he says that this verse seems to be addressed by Indra to Indrāṇī who is called *Vṛṣākapāyī* here. *Vṛṣākapāyī* has already made her appearance on the scene in V. 11 and she is addressed by *Vṛṣā-Kapi* flattered as he is, by Indra's appreciation of his 'watery oblation' (V. 12). *He assures her that Indra will certainly accept her offerings of bulls to him as well as her other satisfying oblation.* This is the first indication that Indra is being admitted to the feast of sacrificial oblations of which he was apparently deprived (VV. 1 and 3), *Vṛṣā-Kapi* having monopolised them so far.

(V. 14) Indra exclaims (therefore) in joy : "For me they roast fifteen (nay) twenty bulls, all at one time, and I eat the fatty flesh thereof. Over and above this, they fill my two paunches (with the Soma-drink)."

(V. 15) *Vṛṣā–Kapi* speaks :

"As a bull with sharp horns roars among the herds, (so should you, O Indra, carol among the bulls offered to you). Let the barley-drink which is refreshing, be a joy unto your heart."

One does not understand why Geldner should make *Vṛṣākapāyī*, the speaker of this verse ; she cannot take liberties while speaking to Indra. It is improbable again that Indrāṇī should be the speaker addressing Indra as Tilak following Sāyaṇa supposes. Why should Indrāṇī who is being gradually appeased and who is not yet completely reconciled, suddenly recommend the offerings of *Vṛṣākapāyī* and VK to Indra ? Taking the first two *Pādas* as refering figuratively to the *Mantha* (of the third *Pāda*)

so that it may qualify for comparison with Soma among the bulls, (as Geldner does) is too far-fetched an idea. '*Bhāvayuḥ*' qualifies the drink rather than the offerer.

(VV. 16 and 17) The true significance of these two *apparently* lascivous stanzas has not been pointed out so far. There is really no indecency or vulgarity in them. V. 16 is spoken by Indra, who over pleased with the bull-offerings and the Somá drink presented to him by *Vṛṣākapāyī* flatters her by praising *Vṛṣā-Kapi*. "Not he (*i.e.* himself as the presiding deity of the mid-day sun) whose organ ('of generation', literally but '*of light*' really) *i.e.* whose solar disc hangs down between the two thighs (the two halves of the heavens on either side of the centrally situated mid-day sun) is the master (of the Universe) but he whose hairy organ (of generation or light) flares up when it (*i.e.* the setting sun) sits down (on the horizon)." V. 17 *Vṛṣākapāyī* returns the compliment by reversing the judgments in Indra's speech and saying in effect that the *hanging disc* of Indra (the mid-day sun) rather than the horizon–touching *hairy disc* of *Vṛṣā-Kapi* (the setting sun) is all-powerful.

(V. 18) *Vṛṣākapāyī* continues:

"This VK has come upon the distant one that is dead and a butcher's knife, a bowl (to cook the offerings), a new pot and a car laden with fuel (*i.e.* all the accessories and materials of a funeral sacrifice.)"

In the opinion of the writer, *parasvant* does not mean a donkey but 'one abiding in the far-off region' being an irregular formation from *paras* ('far-away') and *vant*, a secondary nominal suffix irregularly applied to an adverb, instead of to a nominal stem. The dead one is the Mārtāṇḍa (X. 72. 8 and 9) the eighth son of Aditi, who was cast off far away (*parā*). I follow the hint given by Sāyaṇa who explains the word as 'One *not* abiding in one's own region.'

(V. 19) On hearing this, Indra says:

"I go about, looking round and distinguishing between the Ārya and the Dāsa (*i.e.* their respective domain of light and darkness). I partake of the offerings of one (an Ārya) who brews a simple drink (rather than the elaborate funeral offerings that are

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available in the land of darkness and death, the land of the Dāsa). I look out for a wise Āryan (to offer me a sacrifice, and not for a Dāsa).

(V. 20) Indra continues:

"The *bare expanse* of the heavens above (*dhanva*) and the mountain *declivity* (*kṛntatram*) (along which you are going down) O! VK how many *yojanas* are they distant from each other? (not many). Come from below (*nedīyasaḥ*) to your own (original *i.e.* heliacal) home near (my) abode." This is an appeal to *Vṛṣā-Kapi* (Orion identified with the sun just below it) to get near the rising sun and make a heliacal rising rather than be near the setting sun which has slided down the mountain.

(V. 21) "Come again (to us, as formely). O! VK let us adapt ourselves to good (mutual) relations, since 'sleep-banisher' (that you have become now, at the heliacal rising of Orion), you go your own way, back to your house." This is spoken by Indrāṇī who is now completely reconciled to *Vṛṣā-Kapi*.

(V. 22) Indrāṇī continues:

"Since, O! VK and Indra, you have both come back to the house, where is that harmful *Mṛga*? To whom has gone the tormentor of the people?"

The disappearance of the Orion is due to the heliacal rising of the latter, as a result of which the whole constellation with the figure of the antelope is blotted out in the flood of solar light. I do not believe that this verse represents the reflections of the poet (as Geldner supposes). The starting point of the hymn is the desertion of VK and disappearance of Indra after him, which is the substance of Indrāṇī's grievance. Indrāṇī now welcomes them both at the heliacal rising of Orion (She is therefore the speaker). All *is well that ends well.*

(V. 23) "Parśu (*Vṛṣā-Kapāyī*), the daughter of Manu gave birth to twenty children (the twenty dawns before sunrise) all one after another. Luck, verily, has she got, whose womb has suffered from (labour-) pains." Sāyaṇa in his commentary says 'Parśu is a Mṛgi'. This is the clue to the identification of *Parśu*, because the *Mṛga* is *Vṛṣā-Kapi*.

ANTIQUITY OF TIRUKKŌVALŪR

K. V. GOPALAKRISHNAN, M.A.

Tirukkōvalūr or Kōvalūr (now divided into two, Tirukkōilūr and Kīḻūr) is on the southern bank of the river Pennār in the South Arcot District. It is a place of hoary antiquity and bristles with many historical memories. The antiquity of Tirukkōvalūr goes as far back as the first, second and third centuries A.D.[1] as it is mentioned in the Saṅgam works, as the headquarters of the Malaiyamāns in general and Malayamāṉ Tirumuḍik-Kāri, in particular. Kāri is also known as Tirumuḍik-Kāri of Muḷḷūr,[2] one of the seven great patrons (*Vaḷḷals*) of the Sangam period[3]. Tirukkōvalūr was the capital of his territory known as Malādu or Milādu or Malayaimāṉ Nāḍu[4]. Kāri was well-known for his liberal patronage to poets and minstrels and we find many songs in praise of him by Kapilar.[5]

We know from the Sangam works that Kāri was defeated at Kōvalūr and his capital was destroyed by Adigamāṉ Añji, the chief of Thagadūr. But Kāri, after his defeat, sought the help of the Chēra king, Peruñjēral Irumporai, against Añji, by defeating and surrendering the territory of Ōri, the chief of Kollimalai, an enemy of the Chēra king. In the battle that ensued, Añji was defeated and killed by the combined army of Kāri and Irumporai.[6]

That the memory of the association of the Malaiyamāns of the Sangam Period was kept alive in later days, is attested by the fact that as early as the reign of Rājarāja I, the title of Malaiyamāṉ was borne by the Chief of Malādu, who ruled the territory as the feudatories of the Imperial Chōlas. The Chief of Malādu under Rājarāja I, was called as Malaiyamāṉ Rājarāja–Chēdiya-

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *History of South India*, pp. 112–113.
2. *Ibid*, p 117.
3. Other six *Vaḷḷals* are: Pāri, Bēgaṉ, Ōri, Naḷḷi, Āi and Adiyaṉ
4. R. P. Sethu Pillai; *Urum Perum*, p 198.
5. K. A. N. Sastri: *Op. cit.* p 117.
6. T. Aipenperumal Konar: *Tamiḻnāṭṭu Pōrkaḷangaḷ*, pp 65-71.

rāyan[7], while those under Rājēndra I, Vikramachōla and Kulottuṅga I were called as Malaiyamān Rājēndra-Chēdiyarāyan[8], Malaiyamān Vikramachōla Chēdiyarāyan[9], and Malaiyamān Kulottuṅga Chēdiarāyan,[10] respectively. They were probably hereditory rulers of Malādu under the Chōlas and bore the name of the Chōla emperors, as may be seen from their names.

Subsequent to the Sangam period, we depend upon the works of the Vaiṣṇavaite Āḻvārs, called the Mudalāḻvārs, to trace the antiquity of this place. These first three Āḻvārs Pēy, Poigai and Bhūtam—are assigned to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.[11] According to the *Guruparamparai* these three Āḻvārs lived at the same time and all the three are said to have met one another at Tirukkōvalūr under remarkable circumstances and came to know of each other's greatness and sang in great praise of God Tiruvikrama at Kōvalūr.[12] Among the four thousand verses (*Nālāyira Divya Prabhandam*) a hundred known as Eiaryā, Mūnrām (third) Tiruvandādi belongs to Pēy Āḻvār, while to Poigai and Bhūtam belong the first and second *Tiruvandādis* respectively. All these Āḻvārs call this place as Kōvalūr, in their verses.

Sambandamūrti Nāyanār (seventh century A.D.), one of the three *Dēvāram* hymners, also visited this place (Kīḻūr) in the course of his pilgrimage in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and sang a *paḍigam* in honour of Viraṭṭānēśvara. In his hymns he refers to the temple at this place as 'Viraṭṭānam at Kōvalūr'[13] and this shows that the present Kiḻūr was then known only by the name Kōvalūr.

Another leading Vaiṣṇaivite Āḻvār whose life is intimately connected with Tirukkōvalūr was Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār who lived in the eighth century. In his devotional songs he refers to the

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7. V. Rangacharya: *Topographical list of Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 863 E and 289 of 1902.
8. V. Rangacharya: *Op.cit.* No. 863. D.
9. *M.E.R.* 285, 286 of 1902.
10. *Ibid.* 290 of 1902.
11. K. A. N. Sastri: *Op.cit.* p 408.
12. R. D. Sethu Pillai: *Op. cit.* p. 198.
13. *Ep. Ind.* Vol VII, p 138.

temple of Tiruvikrama as 'Iḍaikaḻi at Kōvalūr'.[14] About one thousand three hundred and sixty-one verses of the *Nālāyira Divya Prabhandam* belong to Tirumaṅgai. His works are: *Periya Tirumoḻi, Tirukuruṅdaṅdagam* ; *Tiruneduṅtāṇḍgam* ; *Siriya Tirumadal* ; *Periva Tirumadal* ; and *Tiruvelukkurrimkkar*. It is in the *Periya Tirumoḻi* that his verses on Tirukkōvaḻūr are included. At the end of every verse of his *padigam* he exclaims "I have seen Tirukkōvalūr" and this shows that Kōvalūr must have been an important centre of Vaiṣṇavism. The fact that he refers frequently to the temple at Kōvalūr in his verses in the *Tiruneduṅtāndagam*, apart from a separate *padigam* in *Periya Tirumoḻi*, shows that he was much attracted by the temple at this place.

The great influence Sambandar and Tirumaṅgai had over this place and its people is well attested to by the fact that the temples here are called by the same names given by them. Inscriptions at his place refer to these temples as 'Vīraṭṭānam at Kōvalūr'[15] and 'Iḍaikaḻi'[16] or 'Tiruviḍaikaḻi[17] at Kōvalūr' (The deity is also known as Iḍaikaḻiāḻvar[18]). Another inscription[19] also records the special provision made for the singing of *Tiruneduṅtāndagam* of Tirumaṅgai in the temple. This goes to prove the profound influence they exercised over the people.

Epigraphical evidence pushes the antiquity of Tirukkōvalūr at least as far back as the tenth century.[20] The local temples contain a number of inscriptions belonging to the Chōla kings like Parāntaka I, Rājarāja I, II, Rājēndra I, II, Rajādhirāja I,

14. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p 138. It is of interest to note that this temple was refered to by Poigai as 'Idaikoḻi at Kōvalūr' in his Mudal Tiruvaṅdādi, Verse 86.
15. *Ibid.* Vol. VI, p 138, Inscriptions A to J and 17 of 1905.
16. *M.E.R.* 118 of 1900.
17. *Ibid.* 117, 123 of 1900.
18. *Ibid.* 125, 127, 128 of 1900.
19. *Ibid.* 126 of 1900.
20. The earliest inscription is dated in the twenty-third regnal year of Parāntaka I (930 A.D.).

Kulōttuṅga I, II, III, Vikrama Chōla, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Krishna III, the Pāṇḍya king, Vikrama Pāṇḍyadēva, the Ganga-Pallava king, Nandi Vikramavarman. Tirukkōvalūr was in Kuṟukkai Kūṟṟam, a sub-division of Malādu, a district of two thousand (villages) which was known in Chōla times as Jananātha Valanādu.[21] It was also known as Madurāntaka Chaturvēdi-maṅgalam.[22] Malādu, with Tirukkōvalūr as its capital, was ruled by the feudatories of the Chōlas, who bore the general names like Malāḍuḍaiyar or Lord of Malādu,[23] Muḍigoṇda-Chōla-Malāḍuḍaiyār[24] and Malaiyamān Chēdiyarāyan.[25] Even under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Krishna III, Kōvalūr was the capital of Malādu. Under Krishna III, Malādu was ruled by the Vaidumba ruler Vikramāditya, also known as Saṅdayan Tiru-vāyyan, who was appointed Governor of Malādu, after Krishna III's victory over the Chōlas at Takkōlam.[26] There are many inscriptions recording the gift made by this ruler and his wife to the Viraṭṭāna temple at Kōvalūr.[27]

Thus throughout the ages Tirukkōvalūr remained the capital of Malādu and by virtue of this and the ancient character of this place, the local temples became the objects of attraction for many chiefs and royal officers who lavished enormous gifts on these temples. This stands as an eloquent testimony that Tirukkōvalūr had played a great part in fostering Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism in South India.

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21. *M.E.R.* 123 of 1900.
22. *Ibid.* 123, 125, 127, 128 of 1900.
23. *Ibid.* 120, 123 of 1900 ; And 271, 279 of 1902.
24. *Ibid.* 10, 13 of 1905.
25. *Ibid.* 286, 289, 290 of 1902.
26. A.R.E. for 1907, p 78–79.
27. *Ibid.* 235, 267, 268 of 1902.

*PRATIBHĀ**

(INTUITION IN INDIAN THOUGHT)

K. Guru Dutt, I.A.S. (Retd.)

PRATIBHĀ IN LITERATURE AND POETICS

IV

Anyhow, the fact remains that the field of serious thought was demarcated and fenced off from that of the poetic imagination. *Vyutpatti* was to have exclusive sway in the former, and also a share in the latter. The poets themselves acquiesced in it, and in fact paved the way for it. Thus Ānandavardhana, the poineer of *Dhvani*, refers in his *Dhvanyālōka* to two distinct types of vision (*Dṛṣṭi*), the creative activity (*vyāpāra*) of the poet in the world of imagination, and the determinative functioning of the philosophic mind in handling reality.[44] While Ānandavardhana seems to imply that the two modes had almost equal validity, Rājaśēkhara a little later, definitely concedes priority to the *Śāstra*: "The world of linguistic expression is indeed two-fold—*Śāstra* and *Kāvya*—and of these, *Śāstra* has priority."[45] Even for the poet *Vyutpatti* is as essential as Pratibhā (*Pratibhā–vyutpattī mithah śreyasyau*).

A healthy balance between the two is to be found for example in Kāḷidāsa. But even in his time, hints are not lacking that the learned tradition was coming to pull more than its due weight. The celebrated plea put into the mouth of the *Sūtradhāra* at the commencement of his drama *Mālavikāgnimitra* is evidence of this: "Nothing is to be honoured merely on the ground of its age, nor is poetry to be disregarded merely because it is new. The wise

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* Continued from Vol. LII. page 175.

44. *Yā vyāparavatī rasān rasayitum kācit kavīnām navā dṛṣṭir*
Yā pariniṣṭhitārtha viśayonmeṣā ca vaipaściti

45. *Iha hi vāngmayam ubhayathā, śāstram kāvyaṃ ca*
Śāstra-pūrvakatvāt hi kāvyānām...(*Kāvyamīmāṃsā*)

man examines the merits and accepts on his judgement, while the fool goes by external authority."[46]

The time when poetry was to be merely a by-product of learning was not far off. As the tenth century Jaina scholar-poet, Somadeva Suri, said about himself, although he had devoted all his life to dry logical studies, it was his good fortune that he was able to compose good poetry, like the cow which yields rich milk although feeding on mere grass.[47]

The result of the separation of *Śāstra* from *Kāvya* was fraught with serious consequences for both. It is comparable in many ways to the recent partition of India, and it is perhaps not an accident that it became pronounced from the time of the Islamic conquest. From then onwards, like the tortoise, withdrawing its limbs into its shell, the Indian became rigid and unadaptive, obsessed by a pathological anxiety for the preservation of its heritage, and indifferent, if not hostile, to all change and growth. Philosophic thought, tied to the apron strings of authority, frowned upon all suggestiveness and originality, limited itself to cramped and pedantic textual studies. With its wings clipped, it was reduced to a limping pedestrianism. The dead weight of learned tradition choked all initiative and spontaneity. The mere scholar became impervious to poetry. It was not for nothing that Ānandavardhana pleaded that poetry demanded for its appreciation something more than knowledge of grammar and dictionary meanings.[48] Kṣemendra went further and placed on a par the man who had lost his soul to grammar and the man

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46. *Purāṇam ityeva na sādhu sarvam, na cāpi kāvyam navamityavadyam*
Santah parīkṣyānyatarad bhajante, mūḍhah parapratyayaneya buddhiḥ.

47. *Ājanma samabhyastācchuśkatarkāt tṛṇādiva mamāsyāh*
Matisurabher abhavad idam sūktipayah sukṛtinām punyaih.
(*Yaśastilaka*)

48. *Śabdārtha–śāsana–jñāna–mātreṇaiva na vedyate*
Vedyate sa hi kāvyārtha-tattvajñaireva kevalam. (*Dhvanyālōka.II.*)

asphyxiated by the smoke of logic, with the man born with a stony heart, equally insensitive to poetry.[49] But it was no use. Poetry itself had caught the contagion. From the plane of healthy and robust imagination it had descended to that of anaemic fancy, becoming a texture of remote conceits and verbal ingenuities and felicities. It was no longer a vital necessity but a mere ornament (*Alaṃkāra*). It is not without significance that literary and poetic theory itself was designated *Alaṃkāra Śāstra.* Poetry as well as philosophy had lost touch with life. The glory had departed. And the main cause seems to have been the divorce of *Pratibhā* from *Vyutpatti.*

This is an over-simplified picture of what happened within the Sanskrit learned tradition. Although not wholly in the true perspective, it may help to fix certain landmarks. What dominates the landscape is the break between *Pratibhā* and *Vyutpatti.* Philosophic thought as well as poetic inspiration became mediocre and second-hand. A reaction followed. Starved *Pratibhā* chose new vehicles for its manifestation: these were the regional languages of India. Twice before in Indian history, new thought had experienced the urgency of a new medium of expression. Thus had come into being the *Pāli* literature of early Buddhism, and the *Prākṛt* of Jainism. But a vigorous Sanskrit tradition had over-powered both, and the Buddhists as well as Jains ultimately had recourse to Sanskrit. But this time, the exact reverse happened. The local languages asserted their independence and developed apace. Soon they became equal to the expression of the spontaneous thought and emotion of the people at large. In this change-over, the pioneers were the saints of the Bhakti movement which was thus a Renaissance and Reformation at the same time. Many of them were quite unlettered men, but in them spontaneity of thought was again united with poetry, and *Pratibhā* shook itself clear of the burden of *Vyutpatti.*

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49. *Yastu prakṛtyāśma samānaiva, kaṣṭena vā vyākaraṇena naṣṭaḥ Tarkeṇadagdho'naladhūminā vāpyaviddha–karṇah sukavi–prabandhaiḥ.* (*Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*)

The consideration of the doctrine of *Rasa*, which is central for all Indian aesthetic theory has been reserved for the very end. *Rasa* is, broadly speaking, aesthetic intuition. The usual rendering of it as "sentiment" by modern scholars, is inadequate as well as misleading. *Rasa* is not an object of knowledge in the ordinary sense, its perception being indivisible from its very existence. The only proof of its reality is to be sought in the experience itself. It is timeless and supersensuous (*Alaukika*). It is analogous to if not identical with religious experience. We saw that in Radhakrishnan's view religion and art were only different names for one and the same experience: the intuition of reality and identity. That view is shared by all understanding exponents. Thus Ananda Coomaraswami, the gifted exponent of Indian art and philosophy has said,[50] "The heart and essence of the Indian experience is to be found in a constant intuition of the unity of all life, and the instinctive and ineradicable conviction that the recognition of this unity is the highest good and the uttermost freedom."

Even from Vedic times, the word *Rasa* seems to have been mployed to designate this "heart and essence of experience." In the Ṛgveda, *Rasa* is principally associated with the god Soma, whose outward symbol was the exhilarating beverage of the same name. As a hymn says, "When they crush the plant, he who drinks it regards it as Soma. Of him whom the Brāhmaṇas regard as Soma, no one drinks." (X.85.3). A celebrated verse says "We have drunk the Soma, we have become immortal, we have entered the light, we have known the gods...."[51]

The connection of "heart" and "essence" in our passage is also not adventitious. It is in their hearts that the sages imbibe Soma (*Hṛtsu pītam*). *Hṛdyam* is an epithet frequently used for Soma. Soma, the wise, is said to enter the pure heart and stimulate the intelligence. He makes the partaker "burn as with

50. *The Dance of Shiva*, p. 21.

51. *Apāma somam, amṛtā abhūma, aganma jyōtir avidāma devān.* (VIII.48.3)

fire." We may note how closely Bharata's description of *Rasa* (cited already) follows this. The Ṛgveda itself designates the collection of Soma hymns as "the essence distilled by the sages": *Ṛṣibhis sambhṛtam rasam* (IX.67.). That Soma is linked here with Sarasvatī, the traditional deity of poetic inspiration, is of particular interest. Thus a *Sūkta* (X.119) exclaims, "The hymn has come to me as a cow to her beloved calf. Have I been drinking Soma? I turn my song over in my heart as a carpenter fashions a chariot. Have I been drinking Soma?"

Passing on to the *Upaniṣads*, we find the *Taittirīya* (II.7) describing creation or the emergence of Being from Non-being as *Sukṛta* "work of art" (well done) which is identical with the essence (*Rasa*) of all: "For, truly, on getting the essence, one becomes blissful."[52] The *Maitrī Upaniṣad* also explaning the origination of the three *Guṇās* (*Sattva*, *Rajas*, and *Tamas*) declares that *Sattva* (purity) when impelled, flowed forth as essence (*Rasa*), and that this is identical with the intelligence-mass (*Prajñāna-ghana*) in every person.

It may also be noted that in the *Upaniṣads* the word *Madhu* (honey) is often used in the sense of *Rasa* (essence) and as identical with *Amṛta* (nectar of immortality). Thus a whole section of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (II.5) is devoted to the identification of all the factors in human experience as mutually constituting the essence of one another, culminating in the *Ātman*. This is known as the *Madhu Brāhmaṇa*. An important section of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* is devoted to a mystic meditation known as the *Madhu Vidyā* in which the Sun is to be contemplated as the *Madhu* (essence) of all things. The rays of the Sun are figured as the quintessence of the Vedas whose nature is *Rasa* and *Amṛta*.[53] It goes on: "One who thus knows the secret of Brahma– for him, the Sun neither rises nor sets; for him, there is day once for all."

52. *Yad vai tat sukṛtam, raso vai sah; rasam hyevāyam labdhvānandī bhavati.*

53. *Te vā ete rasānām rāsā; vedā hi rasās teṣām ete rasās–tāni vā etānyamṛtānì, vedā hyamṛtās teṣām etānyamṛtāni* (III.5.4)

References to the heart in the *Upaniṣads* are innumerable. It is a secret place (*Guhā*), often figured as a lotus. It is the meeting place of all the *Nāḍis*. There is a knot (*Hṛdaya-granthi*) in it, the unravelling of which is the end of all seeking. It is the abode of bliss and the seat of *Ātman*. It is identical with Brahma in the last resort.

With this background, it is not difficut to see why the *Ālaṃkārikas* fixed upon the term *Rasa* to denote their basic experience, and naturally this was connected with the "heart": *Rasika* was synonymous with *Sahṛdaya*. *Rasa* was realised only after the significance pervaded the heart— *hṛdayangama*. Before the joy could manifest itself, the heart (*hṛdaya-granthi*) had to be resolved. This resulted in *Hṛdaya-viśrānti* due to the removal of the obstacles imposed by the worldly passions. After the elimination of these, the contemplation of *Rasa* in any of its aspects was blissful, as it amounted to participation in the primal Self-consciousness whose very nature was bliss.[54] That is Abhinava-gupta's interpretation in his *Abhinava-Bhāratī*. We may bear in mind in this context that in the Kashmir Śaiva School of which he was the foremost exponent, the word *Hṛdaya* was frequently used as equivalent to the Supreme Consciousness.

The *Rasa* experience was associated with purity (*Sattva*) and bliss (*Ānanda*). Thus Viśvanātha in his *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*, says of *Rasa*, "It is pure, indivisible, self-manifested, compounded equally of bliss (*Ānanda*) and conciousness (*Cit*), free from admixture with any other perception, the very twin-brother of mystic experience (*Brahmāsvādana sahodaraḥ*)." The very life of it is said to be a supersensuous (*Lōkōttara*) wonder, which is a kind of expanding of the mind in admiration. Viśvanātha proceeds, "It (*Rasa*) is enjoyed by those who are competent thereto, in identity, just as the form of God, is itself the bliss with which it is cognized." This was the view propounded by Abhinavagupta three centuries earlier in terms akin to those of Kasmir Śaivism among which *Pratibhā* figures prominently. Three centuries after

54. *Svasamvit carvaṇa rupasyaikaghanasya prakāśasyānandasāratvāt.*

Viśvanātha, Jagannātha Paṇḍita in his *Rasa Gangādhara* elucidated the same position more in accordance with the hypothesis of the Vedānta, starting from the very *Taittirīya* text which has been cited above: *Raso vai saḥ*!

About the psychology and rationale of *Rasa* realization there has been much controversy, centring round the interpretation of the term *niṣpatti* used by Bharata in his *Nātya Śastra* in connection with the manifestation of *Rasa*. There were at least four distinct schools, the first explaining it as generation (*Utpatti*) a second as enjoyment (*Bhukti*), a third again as inference (*anumiti*) and the last as suggestion or revelation (*Pratīti* or *Dhvani*), which was initiated by Ānandavardhana and championed by Abhinavagupta. It was this last which finally held the field. As stated in the *Dhvanyālōka*, the speech (*Sarasvatī*) of the great poets overflowing with the sweetness of *Rasa* reveals transcendental and unique forms of *Pratibhā*.[55]

Although there might have been dispute about the mode of appearance of *Rasa*, there was none about the *Pratibhā* aspect. Even Mahima Bhatta the most formidable among the opponents of the *Dhvani* theory, who wrote his *Vyaktiviveka* with the express object of refuting *Dhvani*, wrote a separate treatise for expounding the nature and importance of *Pratibhā*. In the *Vyaktiviveka* itself, he eulogizes *Pratibhā* as the third eye of Śiva which reveals the past, present and future in immediate vision and that under auspicious circumstances the poet shares it for an instant when he contacts his inmost self.[56] As Abhinavagupta himself put it, actually in the heart pervaded by Śiva, everything shines as if pervaded by Śiva; *Vastutaḥ śivamaye hṛdi sphuṭam, sarvataḥ śivamayam virājate* (*Dhvanyālōka Locana*)

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55. *Sarasvatī svādu tadarthavastu niṣyandamānā mahatām kavīnām*
Alokasāmānyam abhivyanakti parisphurantam pratibhāviśeśam.

56. *Rasānuguṇa śabdārtha cintā stimita cetasaḥ,*
Kṣanam svarūpa-sparśotthā prajnaiva pratibhā kaveḥ;
Sa hi cakṣur bhagavataḥ tṛtīyam iti gīyate
Yena sakṣātkarotyeṣa bhāvāṇstraikālya-vartinaḥ.

We may sum up by saying that in India, *Rasa*, aesthetic experience, has by common consensus been regarded as *Alaukika* (literally metaphysical) and identified with the mystic experience which the *Upaniṣad* speaks of: *Raso vai saḥ*. Both are aspects of *Pratibhā*, which stands in the same relation to the Supreme or Ultimate principle, as *Śakti* to *Śiva* in the Śaiva system from whom the *Ālaṃkārikas* seem to have borrowed much of their terminology as well as thought. The word *Śakti* is often found in *Sāhitya* literature as a synonym for *Pratibhā*. Thus Ānandavardhana says that defects arising from the poet's lack of erudition (*Vyutpatti*) are easily covered up by his *Śakti*, meaning *Pratibhā*.[57] The popular legend that India's greatest poet, Kāḷidāsa was an ignoramus to start with, who derived his genius through the grace of the Divine Mother (*Kāḷī*) whom he worshipped with devotion appears to be symbolic in significance. We may close with the invocation which Abhinavagupta has addressed to *Pratibhā*, unfolding the entire universe, yet completely self-subsistent:

Yadunmīlana śaktyaiva viśvam unmīlati kṣaṇāt
Svātmāyatana viśrāntām tām vande pratibhām śivām

(*Concluded*)

57. *Avyutpatti-kṛto doṣah śaktyā samvriyate kaveḥ*. (*Dhvanyālōka*).

A NOTE ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE XIX CANTO OF KĀLIDĀSA'S *RAGHUVAṂŚA*

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The Aim of Inquiry

A perusal of several contos of Kāḷidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa*, aroused in us a doubt as to the authorship of the XIX canto. The purpose of this inquiry is to give a brief note as to the question of authorship of this canto, based on an objective analysis, rendered by the application of statistical method in the manner of exact sciences.

Material taken

The text used for the analysis presented here is taken from *Raghuvaṃśa*, edited by the Aṇṇangarāchārya Granthamāla office, Kancheepuram, 1950; and for the purpose of this inquiry cantos I, II, V, VI, XI, XV and XIX are selected.

Method employed

Cantos composed in the same prosody (meter) are grouped together.

First Group: Cantos I and XV, both being composed in *Anuṣṭubh*,

Second Group: Cantos II, V and VI, all the three being composed in *upajāti*; and,

Third Group: Cantos XI and XIX, both being composed in *Rathōddhatam*.

The verses are objectively measured in terms of word-lengths and the representations (graphs) thus obtained are compared.

Definitions of a word

Definition of a **word,** as employed here for counting the number of words in a verse is as follows:

A word is an articulate sound or combination of sounds expressing an idea; a word is a constituent part of a verse.

Just as Zipf[1] has described the term word, in taking up investigations based on statistical analysis of Chinese and Plautinc Latin, **पितृ** (*pitṛ*) is considered as one word, **पितरौ** (*pitarau*) as another; **पितरं** (*pitaram*) a third; **पितरः** (*pitaraḥ*) a fourth; and **पित्रे** (*pitrē*) a fifth. In the lexicon of the language all these forms would appear under one word—being different forms of **पितृ** (*pitṛ*)

The differencc between the two acceptances of the term **word**, is that we consider only a word 'in its fully inflected form' as a unit of speech, whereas in the lexicon the word either in its non-inflected form or in some one arbitrarily selected and traditionally maintained inflected form, is taken as a word.

To perceive the differences that arise in our mind's view between the lexicon conception of a **word** and the form of a **word** that is dynamically used as a constituent unit in these verses, analysis of verses in terms of word magnitudes are presented below :

Verses and word-unit magnitudes

तं[1] सन्तः[2] श्रोतुमर्हन्ति[3] सदसद्व्यक्तिहेतवः[4]
हेम्नः[5] संलक्ष्यते[6] ह्यग्नौ[7] विशुध्दिः[8] श्यमिकापि[9] वा[10] ॥१०॥

This contains 10 words.

भीमकान्तैर्नृपगुणैः[1] स बभूवोपजीविनाम्[2] ।
अधृष्यश्चाभिगम्यश्च[3] यादोरत्नैरिवार्णवः[4] ॥१६॥

This contains 4 words.

हैयंगवीनमादाय[1] घोषवृद्धानुपस्थितान्[2] ।
नामधेयानि[3] पृच्छन्तौ[4] वन्यानां[5] मार्गशाखिनाम्[6] ॥४५॥

This contains 6 words.

मा[1] भूदाश्रमपीडेति[2] परिमेयपुरःसरैः[3] ।
अनुभावविशेषात्तु[4] सेनापरिवृताविव[5] ॥३७॥

This contains 5 words.

The above verses are taken from *Raghuvaṁśa*, canto I.

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1. *Psycho–Biology of Language*: Zipf. Houghton Miffin Company, Boston, U.S.A. 1935.

The word-magnitude of each verse and the number of occurrences for each word magnitude are as follows:

Table I

Showing the number of each verse and its magnitude in terms of word-lengths in *Raghuvaṃśa* canto I. M=Magnitude N=Number of the stanza.

No. of the Stanza (N)	Magnitude (in words) M	No. of the Stanza (N)	Magnitude (in words) M	No. of the Stanza (N)	Magnitude (in words) M	No. of the Stanza (N)	Magnitude (in words) M
1	7	15	6	29	10	43	4
2	9	16	4	30	4	44	5
3	7	17	7	31	7	45	6
4	8	18	8	32	8	46	5
5	2	19	7	33	5	47	8
6	5	20	9	34	7	48	6
7	8	21	6	35	8	49	3
8	7	22	9	36	5	50	3
9	8	23	7	37	5	51	4
10	10	24	6	38	4	52	3
11	6	25	8	39	6		
12	8	26	8	40	4		
13	8	27	9	41	5		
14	6	28	7	42	2		

Table II

Showing the magnitude in word-lengths (M) and the number of occurrences (f), perceived in Table I, shown above.

Magnitude in words (M)	No. of occurrences for the Magnitude. (f)
1—3	5
4—6	21
7—9	24
10—12	2
Total	52

From Table I, it is seen that two verses have two words each, three verses have three words each, so that between one to three words, we have (2+3=5) five verses, which means that the number of occurrences for Magnitude (M) is five. Similarly between Magnitudes four to six we see twenty-one verses—six verses of four words each, seven verses of five words each, and eight of six words each, making a total of twenty-one and so on.

Such tables like Table II are constructed for each group of cantos shown above and the representations obtained are compared for estimating significant differences.

Results of analysis

The following are the analyses obtained for various groups and the result of comparison in each case.

Table III

Showing the Magnitude of verses in word-lengths (M) and the number of occurrences for each Magnitude (f) for cantos cantos I and XV.

Sl. No.	(M)	Canto I (f)	Canto XV (f)
1	1—3	5	0
2	4—6	21	17
3	7—9	24	33
4	10—12	2	2
	Total	52	52

Fifty-two verses have been taken for analysis in each of canto I and canto XV.

Table IV

Showing that there is no *significant difference*, between the distributions in canto I and in canto XV.

Sl. No.	(M)	Actual		Total	Expected		chi-squar--ed
		(f) Canto I	(f) Canto XV		(f)′ Canto I	(f)′ Canto XV	
1	1-3	5	0	5	2·5	2·5	
2	4-6	21	17	38	19·0	19·0	
3	7-9	24	33	57	28·5	28·5	
4	10-12	2	2	4	2·0	2·0	
	Total	52	52	104	52·0	52·0	6·84

Degrees of Freedom = 3; chī-square = 6·84. From Fisher's Table it is seen that P is more than 0·10; as this value for P is more than 0·05, we conclude that there is no *significant difference.*

Table V

Showing no *significant difference* between distributions in II, V and VI cantos.

Sl. No.	Magnitude (M)	Actual (f) Canto II	Actual (f) Canto V	Actual (f) Canto VI	Total	Expected (f)′ Canto II	Expected (f)′ Canto V	Expected (f)′ Canto VI	chi-squared
1	1-3	0	0	1	1	0·33	0·33	0·34	
2	4-6	12	6	9	27	9·00	9·00	9·00	
3	7-9	20	30	29	79	26·33	26·33	26·34	
4	10-12	18	12	12	42	14·00	14·00	14·00	
5	13-15	2	4	1	7	2·34	23·34	2·32	
	Total	52·0	52·0	52·0	156	52·00	52·00	52·00	9·82

Degrees Freedom = 6. Chi-squared = 9·82. and P as per Fisher's Table = between 0·10 and 0·20. Therefore, the figure exhibits no *significant difference* in the distributions.

Table VI

Showing the comparison of distributions between cantos XI and XIX of *Raghuvaṃśa*.

Sl. No.	Magnitude (M)	Actual (f) Canto XI	Actual (f) Canto XIX	Total	Expected (f)′ Canto XI	Expected (f)′ Canto XIX	
1	4-6	3	16	19	9·5	9·5	Significant difference here
2	7-9	32	25	57	28·5	28·5	
3	10-12	14	10	24	12·0	12·0	
4	13-15	37	1	4	2·0	2·0	
	Total	52	52	104	52·0	52·0	chi-squared = 11·43

Degrees of freedom = 3; chi-squared = 11·43.

From Fisher's Table it is seen that P is less than 0·01. As it is less than 0·05 the distributions have to be taken as showing *significant difference.*

Conclusion

The *significant difference*, observable in Table VI, as opposed to what is observable in Tables V and IV, indicate that the author of verses in canto XIX may not be the poet who wrote canto XI. Hence this brief inquiry raises the question of the authorship of canto XIX to the poet who wrote canto XI *viz.* Kāḷidāsa, and to some extent doubts if the authorship of canto XIX could be attributed to the poet. We are of the opinion that Kāḷidāsa may not probably have composed it.

A SHORT HISTORY OF KHANDESH*

1382—1601

Dr. Mahdi Husain

Chapter IV

The Fall

The rulers of Khandesh who claimed descent from Caliph Umar Faruq evinced the Faruq-like spirit of statesmanship, worldly wisdom, tenacity of purpose, tolerance and patriotism. It was by virtue of these qualities found for the most part in the Faruqi Khans and Faruqi Shahs and princes that their kingdom weathered numerous storms in the political firmament for two hundred years and was saved from being absorbed in the aggressively ambitious neighbouring kingdoms of Malwa, Gujarāt and Ahmadnagar. Five of the Faruqi rulers, *viz.* Nasir Khan, Adil Khan II, Adil Khan III, Muhammad Shah I and Adil Shah IV, firmly held the belief that their kingdom could not stand isolated; they were convinced that an alliance with at least one of the powerful neighbours was essential. Therefore, an alliance was primarily made with Malwa; when this failed an alliance with Ahmadnagar was sought for; when that with Ahmadnagar broke down an alliance with Gujarāt which had been envisaged at an early date came to be the final choice. An alliance with Gujarāt, therefore, materialised and was maintained through thick and thin. The alliance with Gujarāt developed in course of time into a kind of Muzaffari patronage of the Faruqis of Khandesh, eleven successive kings of Gujarāt from Muzaffar Shah I to Bahadur Shah, being influential supporters of their contemporaries of the Faruqi dynasty. As a result, the petty estate of Thalner grew into *Khandom* or Khandesh and the *Khandom* grew into a kingdom. Thus Khandesh might appear to be a creation of Gujarāt, but it was not a vassal state. It was independent in all respects as is illustrated by the history of the last three Faruqi rulers, Rāja Ali Khan, Hasan Shah and Bahadur Shah. During their successive reigns the machinery of government in Gujarāt being

*Continued from volume LII. Page 20

out of gear, different interested parties arose and militated against each other in the country. Seeing this, Khandesh ceased to count on Gujarāt and acquitted itself independently. Believing in the maxim that in politics nothing is stable, the Faruqi rulers not infrequently changed sides in interstate relationships; and the pendulum of their political associations swung successively between Berar, Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur, Golconda and other neighbouring states. Believing also in the theory of the balance of power they endeavoured to hold a kind of balance of power between Hindustan and the Deccan on the one hand, and on the other hand they did their utmost to hold the scale even among the rival states of the Deccan. In other words they were able to establish a political equilibrium among the warring states of Malwa, Gujarāt, Berar and Ahmadnagar and were at the same time able to hold their supremacy through sheer tenacity and high diplomacy in spite of the fact that they did not possess sufficient military strength.

The Faruqi rulers also believed in hearty co-operation with their Hindu subjects who uniformly enjoyed peace and prosperity in the State. The Hindu chiefs rubbed shoulders with the Muslim aristocracy. Ravi Rai also called Rup Rai, the most faithful and powerful warrior in Faruqi service, had no match in the dominion other than the renowned Abdul Karim Faulad Khan, patron of our author Abdullah Muhammad. Ram Das was another trusted courtier at the Faruqi court. He was a prominent member of Bahadur Shah's entourage at Asirgarh and did not forsake his king even in his misfortune. He attended him through his last journey from Asirgarh to Burhanpur. According to Abdullah Muhammad, Bahadur Shah, on deciding to go to Emperor Akbar, called his courtier Ram Das Darbari and arrived in his company along with other ministers and troops at the Mughul court. No Faruqi ruler waged a *jehad* with the Hindu chiefs of his State or even with those of the neighbouring States. Wars of aggrandisement and political ascendancy which were the kings' stock-in-trade in those days were an exception with the Faruqi rulers. Nasīr Khan's aggression on Rāja Asa being one of this kind had no religious or missionary motive behind. Even in

the madness of war no instances of the desecration of temples or violation of women have been reported; nothing of the kind ever occurred in times of peace. An instance of the extent to which the domestic life in the State was influenced by Hindu or Rājput culture is found in the unique patriotism displayed by the Khandesh chiefs in the hour of crisis and distress and in the sacrifices performed by Yaqut Sultani and his son Muqarrab Khan as the last attempt to save Asirgarh. The local custom of keeping in the Asirgarh fortress seven Faruqi princes in the order of their claims to the throne and never allowing them to leave the fortress until one of them was called upon to assume the crown reflects Rājput culture.

The exhibition of such qualities in the Faruqi rulers is evidence of their mixed Arab-Indian heritage which inspired their political acumen and statesmanship. Bahadur Shah, the last Faruqi ruler was an exception. He had not received his due share of the rich dynastic legacy. He was inexperienced, young, imprudent and wanting in judgment and strength of character. Pitted against the greatest statesman of the world, namely, Akbar Bādshah, Bahadur Shah cut a sorry figure. He proved by his own misdeeds that he possessed neither the political sagacity nor the statesmanship and diplomacy of his great ancestors. From them he had inherited a body of the most faithful supporters of the Faruqi dynasty, consisting of the great patriots and selfless workers interested in the integrity of Khandesh. But he alienated them all. He created a split among some of them and made them fight amongst themselves, thus draining the manhood of Khandesh. He insulted publicly and dismissed the most experienced of the grandees of the State, namely, Minister Afzal Khan. Afzal Khan along with his brother Khudawand Khan had been organising the defence of the Asirgarh fortress effectively against the Mughul besiegers. The brothers lost all confidence in their king and joined the enemies, a catastrophe brought about by Bahadur Shah himself. Vincent Smith has vainly charged Emperor Akbar with kidnapping Bahadur Shah and bribing his officers whose names are not given. Surely the officers who were dismissed or suspected by Bahadur Shah were justified, in self-defence, in

negotiating with the Mughul Emperor. What wonder if they accepted some monetary aid also! These were no others than the said minister Afzal Khan and his team–Khudawand Khan, Abdul Karim Faulad Khan, Saadat Khan and Muqarrab Khan. Vincent Smith has brushed aside the Indo–Muslim histories, namely, the *Akbar Nāma* of Shaikh Abul Fazl and Faizi Sirhindi and the *Tarikh–i Firishta* as giving the official account and has pinned his faith on Jesuit sources which cannot compare favourably with the contemporary Arabic record, the *Zafar al-Walihi bi Muzaffar wa Alih*,[61] which was written in 1605 but did not see the light of day until after three hundred years of its composition[26]. It was not meant for Emperor Akbar whom the author Abdullah Muhammad did not know much and whom he never mentions as his patron.

What Abdullah Muhammad says amounts to this :

As soon as Bahadur Shah heard of Akbar Bādshah's march on Burhanpur he held an advisory council which was attended among others by the *vezirs* Afzal Khan, Abdul Karim Faulad Khan, and Saadat Khan. The *vezir* opined that there were only two ways open either to fight or to appease the invader by giving the treasure. Abdul Karim Faulad Khan warned the council against recklessly giving away the treasure in which case, he contended, the invader was sure to make further demands. He also warned the council against reckless fight, for fighting with the Emperor of India was not an easy task. He warned Bahadur Shah against adopting a measure which might not answer but entail discomfiture and humiliation. He stressed the need for deciding upon a plan of defence which was at once thoughtful, honourable and dignified.

The plan which he envisaged was as follows :

"King Bahadur Shah or his son should remaintain the fortress together with the *vezir* and some of the oldest and most experienced divisions of the army besides a defence force under the

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61. Also known as *The Arabic History of Gujarāt.*

62. See *A. H. G.* p. viii.

charge of tried *amirs* like Darya Khan Rumi, Agha Charks Mustafa Changiz Khan Kokyan and others. Barring these no one else, male or female, should remain in the fortress. In case the king's son should remain inside the fortress the king should march out with the rest of the cavalry and elephants and portable defence materials and the treasury and encamp between Kalna[63] and Aqba Jandur.[64] There he should unseal the treasury and recruit troops, thus adding to his existing strength of 12,000 horses. He should recruit the Rājputs, Kolis and other candidates and volunteers. This done, he should permit me and the brave cavalier Ravi Rai to proceed to the Narbada in order to engage the advancing Mughuls whom we hope to hurl down frustrating their projected invasion of Burhanpur, at least for some time to come. Should they, urged by their overwhelming numbers, resume their march at a later date we hope to repulse them again and we shall crush them completely. Should they persist in marching on Burhanpur we should cut off their supply of provisions. In case the king finds that they have stolen a march and gained ground by drawing closer to the city he must avoid meeting them in a pitched battle. He should withdraw into Aqba Jandur where in order to maintain his position he should open negotiations with the Deccan princes making friends with them by giving them money, for they feel more than ourselves the need of a defence organisation against the Mughuls."

This precious advice of Abdul Karim Faulad Khan was thrown to the winds by Bahadur Shah. He paid no heed to it and called upon Saadat Khan to give his opinion. Saadat Khan reiterated *vezir* Afzal Khan's proposal about appeasing the invader and said :

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63. Kalna was probably the name of a hilly pass, not traceable on any map or in the Gazetteer now.

64. *Aqaba*—an Arabic word means a (i) mountain-road (ii) a path difficult of ascent in the mountains (iii) a long mountain range that lies across the way above which the beaten track leads (iv) rising high towards the sky, ascending and descending (lane). Hence 'Aqaba Jandur' signifies the ascent of Jaddur Hill.

'If we want to solve this problem by anything other than money, we shall not succeed'. The council adopted this last view and dispersed. Thereupon Abdul Karim Faulad Khan felt disgusted and retired to Songir[65] while king Bahadur Shah mounted into the fortress and was followed by the *vezir*.

This was the last meeting between the king and his most accomplished officer Abdul Karim Faulad Khan whom he misjudged and suspected of colluding with the Mughuls. Shortly after, an untoward incident took place, resulting in the capture on the part of Abdul Karim Faulad Khan of two unlicensed elephants. This enraged Bahadur Shah beyond limits. He outlawed him and told off a division of the army commanded by Ravi Rai to cut off his head and seize all his property including the elephants. An order written to this effect was issued.

Abdullah Muhammad observes:

"That an order to this effect was written out by Bahadur Shah while the Emperor of India was only one stage from Burhanpur is amazing indeed!"

When Abdul Karim Faulad Khan came to know the contents of this order he resolved to cross the Narbada to escape the catastrophe for he had foreseen the ruin of his royal master, Bahadur Shah. He also thought he would thereby save himself from the pursuing enemy who was then only at a distance of thirty miles from him. He crossed the Narbada and was warmly received in the Mughul camp. Then he fought bravely with Ravi Rai and killed him. After his victory Abdul Karim Faulad Khan was presented to Emperor Akbar and was highly honoured.

'This event' says Abdullah Muhammad, 'was one of the causes of the ruin of Bahadur Shah'. At a critical moment he lost two of his best generals who could not be replaced; they were unequalled in the domain of swordsmanship. He also lost the services of those of the *amirs* who dwelt in the vicinity of Burhanpur and had adhered to him so far; they went over

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65. Songir is a Hill fortress town fourteen miles north of Dhulia, Khandesh, now in ruins.

likewise to the Mughul camp. Abdullah Muhammad continues: 'Bahadur Shah shut himself together with a group of his *amirs* in the mountain fortress. Then Akbar Bādshah ordered the siege of the fortress. The siege began and the fight that followed raged for several months. During this period even *vezir* Afzal Khan felt inclined to join the Mughuls. But he endeavoured to prove true to the salt of Adil Shah, the father of Bahadur Shah and stood along with his brothers defending the outskirts of Maligarh against the besiegers. Meanwhile, war roared and raged in its greatest fury causing heavy loss of lives. A pestilence which broke out in the garrison—the fortress being crammed with millions of people also took a heavy toll of lives. Many of these might have been saved had Bahadur Shah allowed the non-belligerents to leave the fortress in time. But he was not a man of experience and had to his discredit many a fault of omission and commission. The climax was reached when, one day, he sent for the *vezir* and dismissed him publicly from the *vizarat*. This outrage on the part of the king was resented by many of his *amirs*. It poisoned the mind of Khudawand Khan, a brother of the deposed *vezir* Afzal Khan. Hitherto he had been defending the fortress to the best of his ability, now he lost all hope for the future and began to suspect the wits of Bahadur Shah. He dismantled the towers of the fortress: and leaving them exposed to attack, he communicated the matter to the besiegers who sprang up forthwith. This was not all. Khudawand Khan also incited some officers of the garrison to wait on Bahadur Shah and induce him to go to the Mughul Emperor who had promised to reinstate him as king. The said officers waited on Bahadur Shah, induced him to go and finally held out a threat saying, "If you do not go to the Emperor of your own accord we shall take you to him." While Bahadur Shah was yet hesitating Saadat Khan walked out, determined to go to the Emperor, and he took along with him his party and provisions. The Emperor was delighted to see him. He set his fears at rest and secured his confidence. Thereupon Saadat Khan disclosed to the Emperor good many secrets about the fortress of Asirgarh. In the wake of Saadat Khan marched Muqarrab Khan who also presented himself before the Emperor.

The emperor treated him with special consideration, knowing that he swayed tremendous influence over the mind and intellect of Bahadur Shah. Before him was dallied the hope of Bahadur Shah's restoration as king of Khandesh in case the latter came over personally. Flushed with this hope Muqarrab Khan went into the Asirgarh fortress and induced Bahadur Shah to go over to the Emperor. Bahadur Shah complied. But his going over to the imperial camp sounded the knell of his kingdom and fortress' concludes Abdullah Muhammad.

Abdullah Muhammad has so vividly surveyed the process and causes of the fall of Asirgarh that no comments are necessary. But his work was not made use of by Vincent Smith, who based his study on the letters of Jerome Xavier, the Jesuit, who is said to have been with the Mughul Emperor during the siege and on Father Pierre du Jarric who wrote a book on the progress of Christain and Catholic Faith in the Seventeenth Century. Both had their shortcomings. Abdullah Muhammad stands much higher than the Jesuits in this respect and supplies a much-needed corrective to their account, enabling us to realize that: "Bahadur Shah quitted his fortress and went to Emperor Akbar because of the split in the ranks of his own *amirs* beginning with the combat between Abdul Karim Faulad Khan and Ravi Rai and culminating in the desertion of his *vezir*, Afzal Khan and the rebellion of the latter's brother Khudawand Khan. We are told that Khudawand Khan removed the defence guards from the key points in the fortress and called in the besiegers. Further he corrupted some divisions of the Khandesh army, amongst whom he created a pro-Mughul feeling. When, however, Bahadur Shah was compelled by his own *amirs* to go to the Mughal Emperor he went with his entourage and *troops*; so, there was no kidnapping. The behaviour of Muqarrab Khan in bringing an imperial message addressed to Bahadur Shah was resented by his (Muqarrab Khan's) aged and partially blind father, Yaqub Sultani, whom Du Jarric describes as the Abyssinian commandant of the fortress. Du Jarric erroneously charges the Mughul Emperor with murdering Muqarrab Khan whom the said Abyssinian commandant is reported to have sent to the emperor to protest against his detaining Bahadur

Shah. Du Jarric further errs when he says that the Abyssinian father, on hearing of his son's murder, swore not to see the emperor's face and committed suicide before the garrison surrendered. Abdullah Muhammad says distinctly that Yaqut Sultani disapproved of his son's (Muqarrab Khan's) bringing an imperial message for Bahadur Shah and inducing him to go to the Emperor and determined not to see his face any more. Muqarrab Khan took his father's scolding to heart and committed suicide instantly. The father followed suit, his appeal to the Faruqi princes, the descendants of Mubarak Shah, to rise to the occasion and select one from amongst them to ascend the throne having failed. Presumably the princes were seized by fear and had been completely demoralised. That Mughul gold sealed the lips and damped the spirits of the Faruqi princes and *amirs* is a possibility but there is nothing in the *Arabic History of Gujarāt* to confirm Vincent Smith's conclusion that 'Akbar was guilty of perfidious violation of his solemn oath, that Asirgarh fell because the officers of the garrison were bribed and that Abul Fazl and Faizi Sirhindi were hiding their master's treachery.'[66]

(*Concluded*)

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66. At another place Vincent Smith says: 'when the Emperor found it...impossible to break down the defence by gun-fire and storm, he exchanged the lion's skin for the fox's and resolved to rely on those arts of intrigue and guile in which he excelled. Smith, V. (*Akbar, the Great Moghal* pp. 278–84). His chief source is Jerome Xavier who had quarrelled with the Emperor and had failed to convert him. He did not understand the language of the country as easily as did Abdullah Muhammad and other Indo-Muslim writers. His unpublished letters referred to by Vincent Smith—the reflection of a biassed mind—cannot be considered infallible. Like Vincent Smith who welcomes even a Jesuit connection—*e.g.* the absurd story of Akbar's order for the execution of some Portuguese officers of the Asirgarh fortress because they had accepted Islam. Sir Welseley Haig attaches great importance to Firishta's story about Akbar's order for demolition of a

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	*Abbreviations*
Ain-i Akbari	
Akbar Nāma of Abdul Fazl	
Akbar Nāma of Faizi Sirhinid	
Arabic History of Gujarāt	*A. H. G.*
Burhan-i Maasir	*B. M.*
Bombay Gazetteer, Vols. I, XII & XVII	*B. G.*
Cambridge History of India, Vol. III	*C. H I.*
Imperial Gazetteer, Khandesh	*I. G.*
Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLVII	*I. A.*
Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi of Barani	
Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi of Afif	*T. F.*
Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi	
Tarikh-i Firishta, Bombay	*T. F. D.*

'beautiful' mosque in the Asirgarh fortress. Both these stories have been considered as evidence of Akbar's hostility to Islam. While the first one is too preposterous to need any comment the second one requires a careful probe. It should be noted that Firishta who introduced it was a Shi'a Muslim. Now, it is a Shi'a belief that on his emergence from concealment the promised Mahdi—a descendant of the Prophet—would order the purging of Islam from many ills; and in the process he would order the demolition of certain mosques. Akbar had been praised by Shaikh Mubarak and his team to the dignity of Mahdi; and at times he did play the latter's role in which capacity he ordered among many other things paradoxical and apparently anti-Islamic, *viz.* the demolition of the Asirgarh mosque also. (Vide *I.A. Vol.* XLVII, 1918, p. 185.)

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE FARUQI DYNASTY

- Ainu'ddin Muhammad, Khwaja Jahan
  - (1) Rāja Amhad (Malik Rāja) 1382–1399
    - (2) Nasir Khan (Malik Jahangir) 1399–1437
      - (3) Adil Khan I 1437–1441
        - (4) Mubaraka Khan I 1441–1457
          - (5) Ain Khan, ('Aina) Adil Khan II Jharkhand–i–Sultan 1457–1501
          - (6) Daud Khan 1501–1508
            - Ghazni Khan
            - Khanjahan
          - Hasan Khan
    - Hasan Khan, Malik Iftikhar
      - Ghazni Khan married a daughter of Ahmad Shāh I of Gujarāt
        - Qaisar Khan married a daughter of Sultan of Sind
          - Ahsan Khan married a daughter of Mahmud Begarha of Gujarāt
            - (7) Alam Khan, Adil Khan III married a daughter of Muzaffar II of Gujarāt 1509–1520
              - (8) Muhammad Shah I 1520–1537 (Muhammad I of Gujarāt)
                - Ahmad Khan
              - (9) Mubarak Shah II 1537–1566
                - (10) Muhammad Shah II 1566–1576
                  - (11) Hasan Shah 576-1577
                - (12) Rāja Ali Khan, Adil Shah IV 1578–1597
                  - (13) Qadr Khan, Bahadur Shah 1597–1601

REVIEW

Myths and Reality* : By Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi. Published by C. R. Bhatkal, for *Popular Prakashana*, 35–C, Tardeo Road, Bombay 34. May 1962, Price Rs. 12·50.

It is not often one has the pleasure and the privilege of reading and examining a book of this order which is a marvel of massive knowledge and versatile erudition. Here is an attempt made to throw light on the origins and development of Indian Culture, through a study of literary, archaeological, ethnographic, historic and philosophic sources. The author presents a many-coloured mosaic of original discoveries of megaliths, microliths, mystic superstitions, peasant customs and other rich variety of miscellaneous new materials apparently unrelated ; and with great skill and power of interpretation makes an effort to unify these extravagantly diversified phenomena and vital and valuable differences so as to make an intelligently co-ordinated reading of Indian Culture possible. A feature of this book is the collation of field-work with literary evidence.

The author examines in this book the origins of myths in order to discover the reality behind them. He has raised many problems for discussion such as the social and economic aspects of the *Bhagavad Gīta*, Ūrvasi and Purūravas, mother goddess cult sites, prehistory of the western Deccan plateau, the economic, cultural and historical basis of the Goan struggle for reunion with India and the name of village communities in old Goa. It is not the purpose of the author in these pages to judge but to analyse as a mathematician and as an orientalist and to trace the primitive roots of some Indian myths and rituals which bear the impact of influences of every historical stage, and which cannot be understood by study of philosophic systems alone. It is the author's conviction that the absence of fresh interpretation following a penetrating analysis may mean ridiculous distortion of Indian history and misunderstanding of Indian Culture.

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* By courtesy All-India Radio, Bangalore.

From the imposing array of facts marshalled in this book the author concludes that myths in their origin are essentially economic in character and therefore they form the ultimate source of all man's intellectual and moral acquisitions. He believes that there is really something objective in myths and though the actual form in which these objective values are clothed in particular cults may be erroneous and illusory, yet behind them there is a real system of economic values. The author does not conceal his bias in favour of scientific explanations of spiritual phenomena, and to examine and to interpret theology and dogma and myths and folklore in mechanistic terms. He says the fundamental causes of social evil are no longer concealed from human sight and the cure does not lie in theology but in socialism, the application of modern science based upon logical deductions from planned experiment to the structure of the society itself.

The author's great erudition, mastery of several languages, and versatile indological equipment are revealed in his knowledge of the historicity of the *Gīta*, of the literary and other sources from which Kāḷidāsa derived the contents for his great characters in *Śạkunthạla*, *Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Vikramōrvasīyam*. The author's comments on Kāḷidāsa's treatment of Ūrvasi with profound insight into the Ṛgveda, the Dawn goddess in the Ṛgveda, the character of Ūrvasi and her higher form Uṣas, whether Ūrvasi is an Āryan or pre-Āryan, are all logical, consistent and profoundly stimulating study. In the last chapters there is a masterly analysis of the mother goddess cult sites, ancient Indian trade routes, nāga worship and blood sacrifices, the date of the Karle Caves, economic importance of monastaries, cult migrations and the historical development of land and people in old Goa and the nature of its village communities.

Myths are the characteristics of religious complex. All religions have come to be defined in terms of myths and Indian cosmology is the substance of Indian religion, and myths are accessories and rationalisations to bolster and make more impressive some original tracts in culture. It is through the myths that man has access to the Supernatural world and no other realm of human

culture gives to the human imagination such an extent of freedom as myth-making cosmology, and folklore have developed richly on Indian soil. The philosophical conception of Creation from nothingness, and the evolution of the Universe through the *avatars* and the ultimate transformation of animals like fish, tortoise, boar and lion into ancestors of the community are a case in point. Secular heroes portray the ideal man of culture and the myth remodels the universe to its dominant desire. The Indian all through the Ages in his myths and mythologies has expressed his discomfort at a machanistic Universe and his pleasure in substituting a world that is humanly motivated and directed. He has recast through myths the Universe into human terms.

In these miniature essays the author has distilled from the Vedas, *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavad Gīta*, *śāstras*, *purāṇās*, anthropology and biology, from individual and social psychology, something instinct of all the value and complexity and charm of life and infinitely suggestive of his own conception of history. To many minds the audacity of this conception of history is abhorrent and its sweetness perilous.

The author's style is clear and unadorned; the expression of his thought is vigorous, although there is in general a far higher proportion of confident statement than of argument. Some of the author's statements are intriguing, "the *Bhagavad Gīta* is a mere dexterity to reconcile the irreconcilable" and "a sort of slippery opportunism characterises the whole book." Again "the **eighteen** main *gōtra* clan groups of the Brāhmins, the **eighteen** *purāṇas*, the **eighteen** parvan section of the Mahābāhrata and the Kurukṣetra War fought over **eighteen** days between **eighteen** legions, and lastly, the **eighteen** *adhyāyas* of the *Bhagavad Gīta* are surely not without significance indicating particular sanctity attached for the Brāhmin complex clan groups." There are such other examples which amuse the reader.

The essence of the book is the assumption that myths are largely economic in origin, and some curious ruses are adopted to evade ethnological and other difficulties. One gets the impression that the learned author is obviously interested above all

things in the statistical analysis of sublime intuitions and certainties, emotional ideals and proclivities in human beings which have made Indian Culture so fascinating. Mathematical and scientific methods cannot be applied strictly, for myths cannot attain the exactitude of physical sciences and accordingly, the application of statistical methods may miss the deeper meaning of the myth which all through the Ages has been a source of spontaneous delight and inspiration to mankind.

M. V. Krishna Rao

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